

1

Introduction

Okinawan history is the story of inertia and change. Basil Hall Chamberlain, the distinguished Japanese and Ryukyuan scholar of the last century and grandson of Basil Hall who visited the island in 1816, said rightly in 1895 that "the general assertion may safely be hazarded that Oriental stagnation exists only in Occidental fancy."¹

178
[114]

One of the reasons for this fancy is that there is a certain stability in parts of the culture, and from this circumstance it is often concluded that changelessness and lack of variety have characterized the historical experience of the people. Agricultural methods seem to have changed little with the centuries, though some of the tools are new. This stability in agriculture is another way of saying that a fine technology based on experience and empiric observation, had been developed, and that in the absence of modern scientific knowledge of soils, crops, plant pathology and fertilizers, it was the best technology possible under the circumstances. The tombs, introductions from China over five centuries ago, add to this impression of the changelessness of rural life. But this is more apparent than real when we look into the history of burial customs more closely.

[242] ●
[177]
[269]

This view of Okinawan history in terms of inertia and change has meaning for the present. The American influence on Okinawa is not a new way of life that is conditioning a static society, but an important, forceful, and new intrusion in a culture that already has undergone fundamental changes in the past. Those who think within the framework of Western European and American history, those whose minds are trained to recognize the changes which have come about as a result of the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the beginnings of theoretical science in the seventeenth century, tend to neglect the rest of world history as relatively unchanging, or to see only those changes coming about from Western intrusions. This one sided interpretation, often expressed in the idea of the Europeanization or the Westernization of the world, should be supplemented with the insight that Oriental cultures have influenced and changed one another greatly and have still maintained their own distinctive features. Chinese influences have been strong in Korea, Japan, and the Ryukyus. But each of these cultures is separate and distinct, although, as one might expect, contemporary Okinawan society bears the strong imprint of long cultural and economic associations with Japan.

178
177

1 The Luchu Islands and their Inhabitants. Geo. Journal 5 (1895), 311.

175 succeeded in shearing the noro system of much of its political power. During the early part of the 18th century, there was an improvement in agricultural methods and in forestry conservation, associated with the name of the statesman, Hozui Saion (1682-1763).¹⁸ Saion was a descendant of a Chinese who had settled at Kume near Naha. He is said to have planted several kinds of trees, including the pine, the Japanese red-wood (sugi), and the maki (in Japanese; podocarpus spp.) Saion is well remembered in Okinawa. In Matsuda, I was shown trees which were said to have been planted along the road to Ginoza during Saion's lifetime and at his inspiration. There are stories told in the forest areas like Matsuda, crediting Saion with intentionally inventing superstitions to prevent people from cutting down the trees. In 1951, a Saion commemorative stamp was issued, and his name is used frequently in forest conservation literature and in posters. Whether Saion was the medium through which agricultural techniques of Japan or China were introduced, or whether these improvements came from his own initiative and study of local conditions, I have been unable to determine. In any case, the teachings of Saion on agriculture and forestry must have reached to the rural areas, improving the agricultural possibilities and encouraging planting trees and preserving the forests, constantly subject to destruction through fire, carelessness, and merciless cutting for fire-wood, as has been the case in many parts of China. These improvements, with the advantages from the introduction of the sweet potato one hundred years earlier, took place within the framework of a political and social and religious system that had now been well established.

5

European Awareness of the Great Loochoo

175 The Loochooans were known to the Portuguese through the trade centering at Malacca. The Portuguese explorer Pinto had visited Tanegashima around 1542. Captain Broughton had been shipwrecked on Miyako to the south in 1798. But the western exploration of Okinawa itself was reserved for later times. During the nineteenth century, the Europeans, then the Americans, became aware of the people of the Great Loochoo.

The first detailed observations based on personal contact date from the works of Captain Basil Hall, and his surgeon, William M'Leod, who

[Text continues TOP of P. 35--Analyst]

18 In the manuscript history reproduced by Leavenworth, there is this passage: "In the 20th year of Kyoho [1735], Hozui Saion fixed a system for the protection of forestry, and a forestry office and shipping office were established." Op. cit., 89. Saion's famous work, Eight Volumes of Forest Administration, I am told was destroyed in the war. Chamberlain, as cited, p. 310, says that Loochooan polity in the 17th century crystallized in a form it wore from then on.

195
167

Another departure from the past was that Okinawans, soon after the turn of the century, were provided with opportunities for emigration. The history of Okinawan emigration is not well known. But in the twentieth century, the people of Okinawa changed from an almost complete ignorance of the outside world to one of the most widely travelled and informed peoples of the Orient. Okinawan settlements in the twentieth century were scattered in many parts of the world, such as Peru, Argentina, Brazil, Hawaii, and the Japanese mandates of the Pacific, Singapore, Japan, Manchuria, and Korea. The cessation of this historic emigration is an event pregnant with meaning for the future. The population and its natural increase now must subsist on the island.

195
487
238
167

Late nineteenth and twentieth century improvements in roads and communication, modest as they were by American standards, broke down some of the isolation of the three districts of Okinawa. The forests and the lack of roads to the north had always discouraged contact. Much of the trade in firewood between the north and the south, even up to the recent war, was done by ship. Elsewhere there were only paths and in the north, not even these. In 1895 Chamberlain wrote of the sparsely inhabited northern (Kunigami) forest area whose inhabitants were "despised for their poverty and rough speech by the natives of the central and southern provinces." Later on he remarked about the "groans of Japanese officials when obliged to go their country rounds," and, that, in the north it was necessary for them to carry a tent.²⁸

195
198
240

As the main island in the newly created province (ken) of Japan, Okinawa benefitted from the scientific approach to agronomy pursued enthusiastically by the Japanese, in contrast with the Chinese and the Koreans before their annexation. Concentration on the development of suitable varieties of rice, the study of sugar cane, plant disease and agricultural techniques represented a body of knowledge that could be applied with local adaptations to all parts of the empire.

195
198
565
[511]

Direct Japanese annexation meant also the disappearance of the top heavy native nobility or gentry (shizoku) to be displaced by the Japanese elite, although membership in the Okinawan nobility continued to be recorded in the family registers up to the recent war. The displacement of the old higher social classes resulted in a certain levelling of all the people, a levelling which continued up to the war, and was accentuated in an economic way by the widespread impoverishment of rich and poor alike in the campaign for Okinawa.

Okinawa in World War II

195
648

The terra incognita described by Bayard Taylor in 1853 became the

28 Chamberlain, as cited, 294, 459

361 traditional attitudes that the north was a culturally rude and physically
 311 inhospitable place. The highway which now goes through the center of the
 [491] main part of the village is a good, hard surfaced, dirt road, widened
 [494] since the war. A lively traffic of trucks and buses and the three wheels
 cycles contrasts with the narrow pre-war roads, traces and abandoned
 sections of which can still be seen. The frequent buses supply transpor-
 tation to the larger cities and towns of the island: to Nago across the
 island and slightly to the north, to Ishikawa on the south, and to dista:
 Naha, about 31 miles away.

127 Matsuda, unlike the southern villages, was not destroyed by the war.
 There were some air raids, some bombing out of the houses, but nothing
 like the destruction in the main areas of conflict. Early in the Okinawa
 campaign, the north was cut off and isolated and the struggle for the
 island took place in central and southern Okinawa. As a consequence,
 [362] many of the old houses, sturdily built with tile roofs, have been preserv-
 [342] ed. Numerous refugees from the south gathered in this area during and after
 [166] the campaign. In nearby Ginoza (Jinusa) village, slightly over a mile
 to the southwest, also on Highway 13, the Americans operated a hospital
 [193] for Okinawan refugees. It is still in use. This relative lack of war
 destruction in the northern villages has, to a degree, reversed the roles
 184 of the north and the south. The opening up of the north, its prosperity,
 the survival of many of its old homes, give the impression of comfort
 and well being conspicuously lacking in most of the makeshift villages
 of the south.

The descriptions of these three villages perhaps make clear the
 diversity that can be expected among Okinawan settlements. Hanashiro,
 the small village clustered with adjoining rice fields on the valley floor,
 its other crops on the terraced slopes, is the most typical. Minatogawa,
 the fishing village in an impoverished countryside of stony or shallow sea
 is dependent on the seas and its catch for its livelihood and the where-
 withal to buy the foods which cannot be grown in sufficient abundance.
 Matsuda, a collection of small settlements, scattered here and there from
 the coast inland, with its large preserve of community forest, is an
 example of agriculture in a forest setting, and of the use of the forest
 in daily living. This by no means exhausts the diversity. The village of
 [136] Oku to the north, with its tea, its rice, its fences for wild boar pro-
 [242] tection, its cycads planted on the hillsides to prevent erosion, is still
 another example. But our task here is not to catalogue all diversity, but
 to indicate that it exists and to a much greater degree than would appear
 to superficial observation.

In this illustration, the first son receives slightly over 60% of the land, ignoring type and grade within type. There was general agreement in all villages that the grade of land within each classification (grades 1 to 4 in dry crop land, for example) had little significance in inheritance matters. The grade is more important for tax purposes.

428
[242]
[651]

The example also illustrates two other principles: the natural desire to keep contiguous or close in land within the main family, using inconvenient or far off land where possible for house sites for branch families, or for arable land for second and other sons. In this illustration, the shares of the second and of the third sons could be equalized by subdividing plot #6, although its small area would not make it worth while, as 75 tsubo is a very low average size for dry crop land.

[241]

Another practice, noted in Hanashiro and in Matsuda, is that the first son receives everything on the retirement of the father. This may be contrasted with a situation in which the father divides the property before younger sons marry and establish branch families. In such cases, the father might take the income from part of the property. But the more general practice is for the father to give all to the first son. Fathers may also make a will. When the first son receives all, it is the custom for him to hold property which the younger sons will need in establishing their branch families. It is in cases where the first son is given full disposition of the property that quarrels are most likely to occur, for much depends on the generosity and sense of fairness of the elder brother.

[593]

In Hanashiro and Minatogawa, it is important that younger brothers receive genya land. Genya is often translated as wild land. In Japan the term is usually used to describe treeless, waste, hilly, rocky, or rolling land unsuitable for cultivation. In Okinawa, the genya land may be in the center of a rice field; it may be a rocky mound with cultivation around it. It may be land in the mountains. It is almost invariably in grass (miscanthus) with an occasional cycad or scrub pine. It is not owned in large tracts. In Hanashiro, the largest single parcel is 4564 taubo (3.77 acres), in Minatogawa 1333 (taubo) (1.9 acres), and in Matsuda 6398 taubo (5.28 acres), but these are far above the average. In Hanashiro it is important because grass is constantly needed for thatched roofs and other uses. The importance of genya and its grass was well illustrated in Minatogawa after the typhoon, Ruth, of October 13-14, 1951. These villagers own little land and many have no genya. They were obliged to buy the grass to replace the roofs of many of the trailer houses which had been partially or completely destroyed by the typhoon. Genya is also used for family tombs. In Hanashiro, the genya

423
134

[137]

[423]

[82A]

[731]

[432]

[764]

[Text continues TOP of P. 133--Analyst]

- 3 The problem can be appreciated by analyzing the acreage areas of each classification of land and the grades within it, bearing in mind that the average farmer has hatake, genya, and often rice paddies. These statistics will be given in the following chapter.

place. Then, as now, paddy and dry crop land might lie together, depending upon local factors. In the periodic redistribution, each family received shares of each in non-contiguous fragmented parcels. In the nature of things, they received small shares of the excellent, moderate shares of the good, and large holdings in poor land.

175
423
311

The old classification of lands was simple and did not go beyond three general divisions of good, fair, and poor. Apparently the Japanese after 1879 introduced more refinements and increased the number of classifications to six. Land classification, then as now, was empirical. It was based on observation, local knowledge of present and past yields, and known dangers to the land. It was not based on scientific knowledge of the soils, nor is it today.

175
311
[77]

[242]

Several dangers to land and crops were considered: (1) the danger of the wild boar (inoshishi). These reddish brown wild boars have disappeared from large parts of Okinawa, though occasionally one is seen in the northern forest. The boars destroyed crops by night feeding. Remnants of old fences can still be seen in the area around Matsuda. In Ono, in the extreme north, fences are still used and many can be seen along the hillsides. (2) Dangers from floods and salt water spray. Local flooding is common and often confined to a narrow area. Salt water spray and salt water in the air, especially in typhoon times, are still menaces to crops. The danger from typhoons did not enter directly into the determination of land classification because the area of destruction was so wide that it was not a factor distinguishing one plot from another. (One can however observe areas of differential damage in a village as an aftermath of typhoons).

175
241
[136]
[417]

[731]

This old land allotment system is now forgotten except in a few isolated areas where its main features are still apparently preserved. The best known of these is Kudaka Island off the southeastern shore of Okinawa. If the system has disappeared, except for a few isolated survivals, its influence remains to the present: it determined the pattern of land use still in effect today, the pattern of small, discontinuous parcels, and set the precedents for the mechanics of land classification. The basic classifications such as rice land, dry crop land, community forest were Japanese and are of great age. The old land allotment system is also considered to be of great antiquity.²

178
423
[184]

[77]

² It was a matter of considerable disappointment that I was unable to spend two or three weeks on Kudaka to study the land system there. Neither has time permitted an investigation (of great inherent interest) of the historical antecedents of the old Okinawan system. Land classification, such as we will be discussing in the next chapter, is very old in Japanese culture. The old Okinawan system bears some resemblances to the "mouth-share-land" (ku-bu-den) system of old Japan which appears in the Taiho code (702 A.D.). This was a system of distribution of communally owned land, but I have not been able to determine whether the distribution was periodic. See Wignore, J. H. and Simons, D. B. Notes on land tenure and local institutions in old Japan. Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, 19 (1891), 77 on land classification, (continued on next page)

311

[242]

[556]

[651]

[433]

Land appraisal made by people with long experience with the capabilities of their soils under traditional methods of farming, fertilization, and land reclamation is very old in the culture. This in itself is a very significant fact about the culture aside from the obvious technical utility of a land classification system. Land classification is important as a tangible indication of wealth as appraised by representatives of the village. This classification is the basis of taxation of land. A grade two rice paddy pays a lower tax than a grade one. The system of land classification also provides a basis for estimating probable yields.

[632]

Township officials are responsible for land classification on a township basis, but each village does its own. In Gushichan township (Hanashiro and Minatogawa) the elected mayor and his appointed subordinates and local farmers who know the land well have set up the system based on classes and grades of land. In Ginoza-son, the mayor performs a similar function. Since each village has its land classification, a table of correspondences makes possible the comparison of equivalent grades. A composite system for the township can then be made. Grade three rice land in Matsuda, for example, may be equivalent to grade two rice land in Ginoza village. By listing all these together, a village wide classification is made.

[185]

The main classifications (tōkyū) of land found in all communities are: (1) Rice lands, (ta, tanbo), (2) dry crop land (hatake). It is very difficult to translate the word hatake. So far the expression dry crop land has been used. This land may be contrasted with the wet rice fields; it is dry farming land, usually on rolling slopes or upland. It is land used for cultivation of domestic plants except rice and one or two other minor crops. Rice and dry crop land are the two main classes. (3) Genya land. This word is also difficult to translate. It is variously rendered as wild or waste land, but it is neither wild nor wasteland in an economic sense. It is best described negatively as land not suited for cultivation. Despite its low value, it is important land for its production of grass, reeds, firewood and plant shoots for domestic animals. It is vital in land conservation. The genya land, sometimes on steep or gentle mountain slopes, sometimes cropping out in the midst of cultivated fields or rice paddies, with its dense growth of grass, its occasional pine tree or cycad effectively binds the soil and prevents disastrous run off and flash floods. Around the village of Hanashiro, genya land is rocky and most of its vegetation consists of grass with some shrubs. Before the war, this genya land had more pine and cycads than at present, and the disappearance of the cycad and pine furnished greater opportunity for the omnipresent miscanthus, though there are occasional regrowths of the pine. In Matsuda, the genya land often is indistinguishable from the forest. But the trees are less dense and the privately owned genya is interspersed with the small cultivated paddies and fields. (4) House sites (yashiki, takuchi). There are usually two classes: the first class site is convenient and on a main road or lane; the second class is inconvenient, a rear house, or one

The writers of a recent report on Okinawan economy have emphasized that the combination of generally poor soils, the rapid decomposition of organic matter in a near tropical climate, and excessive leaching make the problem of fertilization very difficult--⁴ to say nothing of the trace elements.

241
[114]

(6) Other substances are used for fertilizers. In Matsuda the barber gathers the cuttings from the luxuriant hair of his clients and places them around his sugar cane--and recommends them highly. Acacia leaves are also used for this purpose here. Leaves and miscellaneous plants are often considered to be especially good fertilizers.

[305]
[302]
[824]

Crop rotation (rinsaku) practices differ by district. In the Hanashiro area, the sugar cane, soy bean, and sweet potato (or vegetable), sugar cane rotation is common. Rotation of paddy with another crop does not occur. Rice succeeds rice in the double cropping system here. In Matsuda, a common rotation is either (1) the sweet potato, soy beans (or grain, millet, or green peas) and the sweet potato, or (2) the soy bean, sweet potato, grain (barley or millet) rotation. Here rice is not rotated with other crops. (This however does occur in Okinawa).

Simple Rotations
Hanashiro and Nagamo

247
227

One Year

After the sweet potato harvest, the plot is planted in soybeans in the first lunar month.

The soybeans are harvested in the fifth lunar month.

Sweet potatoes follow the soybeans in the sixth lunar month

or

Vegetables alternating with the sweet potato for a year.

Two Years

Sugar cane is sown in the sixth lunar month.

Harvested two years hence, followed by ordinary beans or vegetables, again followed by cane.

⁴ Agricultural and economic reconstruction in the Ryukyus. A report. Agricultural mission to the Ryukyus, Nov. 1949, 46-47.

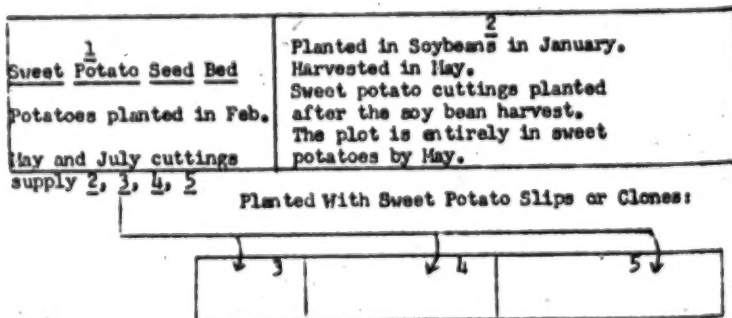
242
221
[423]

These illustrations, while suggesting the common practice, are oversimplified. Rotation is more complicated because all of a farmer's scattered holdings may be involved in an overall rotation, and one plot may serve several different purposes. In the following example of a plot divided up into five small parcels, the planting and transplanting of the sweet potato is part of the mechanism of rotation:

Time: September 1951

Newly hoed. To be planted in beans (sora-mame), Sept. 1951. <u>1</u>	Planted in Sweet Potatoes in July 1951. To be harvested in Jan. <u>2</u>	Soy beans harvested in May Now in weeds and grass <u>3</u>	Now being freshly planted with slips from Parcel 4. Hoed. Completed.
Planted in Sweet Potatoes on Sept. 20, 1951. Slips from this parcel are vegetatively reproduced on parcels 3 & 5. <u>4</u>			<u>5</u>

In the following illustration, sweet potatoes and beans provide rotation both of crop and of field:



A crop rotation with sugar cane depends on whether it is a spring (harue) or a summer (natsue). In the spring planting, lunar calendar:

Sugar cane cuttings are planted in the second month, to be harvested one year later. At that harvest, the plants are not torn out, but the stubs are allowed to sprout (the stubble or ratoon crop), the

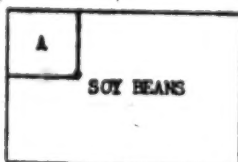
resulting growth being harvested in the second or third lunar month one year hence. After this second cane harvest, the plant is torn up and soy beans or sweet potatoes are grown. This is a two year period for the cane, followed by one year in vegetables or other crops.

247
221

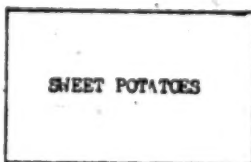
In the summer planting, lunar calendar:

Cane cuttings are planted in the seventh month. This crop is harvested about a year and a half later, in the twelfth lunar month of the following year, then to be planted in soy beans or sweet potatoes.

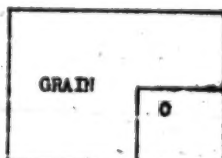
In Matsuda, crop rotation is confined to crops other than rice. The rotation, as in the south, centers around the sweet potato, sugar cane, vegetables and grains. The rotation in a parcel of land may be the sweet potato, then the soy bean, green peas, or a grain such as barley, wheat, or millet, followed by the sweet potato. In this rotation, small segments of land are reserved for sweet potato seed beds. When they are not used for this purpose, they may be left fallow for about three months of the year. The following diagram shows the same plot of land at three different times of the year:



Phase #1, 1-5 Month



Phase #2, 5-9 Month



Phase #3, 10-12th Month

In phase 1, the plot is planted to soy beans. A small corner of this plot (A), is devoted to a sweet potato bed. After the soy beans are harvested, slips from the plants in the sweet potato bed are transplanted and the whole parcel is in sweet potatoes. After the sweet potato harvest, the plot is put in a grain, perhaps millet, or barley, leaving a small plot to be hoed and prepared with composts, manures, or plant residues for another sweet potato bed.

Sugar cane is used in Matsuda crop rotations in two ways:

Rotation #1, Matsuda

First year, 2nd month	Spring growth cane slips, often the ratoon crop)
11th month	Harvest sugar cane, plant soy beans
Second year, 4th month	Harvest soy beans, plant sweet potatoes
9th month	Harvest sweet potato, plant grain or vegetables.

Rotation #2, Matsula

First year, ninth month: Autumn planting of sugar cane
Second year, twelfth month: Harvest of sugar cane. Followed
by: Soy bean, sweet potato, or vegetables.

Land is seldom allowed to lie fallow intentionally for any length of time. At any one time of the year, a farmer may have idle land for which there may be a variety of reasons. He may have other tasks and be unable to cultivate all his land, or have no need of doing so, or some of his land may be so poor that he will not cultivate it unless necessary. Much depends on the individual farmer and his holdings. The village records indicate that in Hanashiro 97.2% of the rice and 83.1% of the dry crop land is under cultivation. From the preceding discussion of land classification, it is clear that many parcels are of marginal quality, and these areas may be left uncultivated, at least part of the year. During the post-war period there has been some informal lending of land, free of rent, to friends and neighbors, if the farmer is not using it himself.

Manual labor with hand tools is the dominant method of cultivation. Domestic animals are not uncommon, but their use in farming is minor. The war increased the dependence on manual labor through the loss of domestic animals. Only cattle are now used in rice cultivation for plowing and harrowing and this is infrequent. The man or woman and the hoe are far more common. Crops are carried from the fields by human labor. The basket or the straw container, or the tied rice sheaves on either end of a pole over the shoulder, and not horse carts, push carts, or wheel barrows are the main means of transport from field to courtyard. The barefooted farmer, with his hoe and a pole or a basket does the greatest part of the work. The common tools of agriculture are hand tools and adapted to the intensive cultivation which so often has more properly been called the work of a gardener rather than that of a farmer.

The basic all purpose tool is the solid bladed hoe. The hoe, since deep cuts are possible with its heavy blade, takes the place of the plow. The hoe also replaces the spade, and even the rake, for it can be used to break up and smooth the soil. A poorer farmer may lack many of the tools in the following list, but he will have two or three of the solid bladed hoes.

The accompanying illustration shows the most common agricultural tools:

1. The hera, a spatula or trowel, used for transplanting tops of the sweet potato. Its wooden hand grip curves toward the end of the tool. The hera is also used as a scraper to remove brown sugar from the sides of the cooking pans during the sugar making season.

2. The kama, a small sickle. Next to the hoe, it is the most

of the young shoots from the seed beds to the paddy field, (4) the care of rice until its maturity, (5) the harvest, (6) threshing, milling, and hulling, (7) the uses of rice and its byproducts, and (8) types and preferences of rice. 243

The preparation and laying out of the seed bed. A seed bed (naidoko) is a plot of first grade land, well watered, specially chosen for this purpose. It is very small in area, often around 15 tsubo, or about 540 square feet. The seed bed also may be a portion of a larger field set apart for seedlings. In this case, small boundaries are made by earthen walls, apertures left for water to flow in and out, and the little plot is then prepared for the seedlings. Considerable care is taken in the preparation of the seed bed. The soil here must be finer and more carefully worked than the paddy field, since it receives the rice seed, not the seedlings. The soil is painstakingly worked, and, with the water added, becomes a thick smooth mud. Commercial fertilizers, composts, and less commonly, night soil are then applied. After the seed is sown, water, perhaps 2 1/2 inches deep is allowed in the bed. During germination, a slow steady irrigation, a washing by new water is maintained by controlling the water trickling in and out of the openings on either side of the field. [31] [134] [312]

The selection of the seed. The seed is taken from the harvest immediately preceding. After fall harvest around December, the rice fields are dug to prepare for the new planting in January or February. The seed used from this crop is tested in one of two ways. 243 242

In Matsuda, it is common for a farmer to fetch a bucketful of sea water. To this he adds a little more salt until the density of the water is sufficient to float an egg. The rice seed is put in the water. The light and undesirable grains rise to the surface. This salt water density method is apparently very old and originally came from China. [197]

Another method, based on the same assumption that the lighter grains make undesirable seed, is used in both villages. The rice is tossed in a round, shallow, winnowing basket, and the breeze carries off the undesirable seeds to the chickens. In the summer planting the seed, after this testing, is ready to sow. In the fall and winter planting, there is one further step. After the seed has been selected by the winnowing or the density method, it is soaked in water for four or five days. Following this, it is removed from the water, put in a tub, and covered. Warm water is added, the mixture is stirred and allowed to stand for another four or five days. The water is then poured off and seed has begun to germinate. The seedlings can now be planted in the seed bed.

Transplanting the young shoots from the seed bed to the paddy field. 243
In the meantime, the paddy fields have been prepared. After the harvest, the field is drained. Small clumps of cropped rice stalks stick up two or three inches where they have been cut with the small pickle or bill knife. This stubble is turned over either by hoeing, the usual way, or

[Kitazato]

somewhat appalled by what they regard as a lack of concern on the part of Americans for their plight. As they have been long accustomed to a paternalistic government, this seems to be a deliberately negligent attitude, and they express this feeling not infrequently. The following statements were heard by the author, "We never see any Americans who come to inspect or look at things" and "No Americans ever come to see how we are."

621
829

National Organizations National organizations such as the youth association and the women's association are rather weak in Kitazato when compared with Kanegusuku. They say that they have little spare time for such organizations, which is undoubtedly true, and the scattered nature of the village makes meeting a chore for some in the outlying sections. The ranks of the youth association are thinned by the loss of members who have sought employment in the city or military camps. Even the agricultural association is not as active as elsewhere, since the farmers feel that little can be done to improve their situation. The farmers and the head of the 'son' agricultural office were disgusted by the stupidity of a plan tendered by the central agricultural office to relieve the distress of Kitazato and other dispossessed farmers in Kami Motobu-son. This plan called for the planting of sugar cane as a cash crop and the use of the proceeds to buy food. It failed to take into consideration that sugar takes a long time to mature and that the people would have nothing to eat in the interim, and even if they were to plant their entire holdings in sugar, it would not bring enough cash to feed them.

621
875621
829
242
241

Village Solidarity Village solidarity seems very high in Kitazato, much higher than in Kanegusuku. Undoubtedly this is largely due to the common problem which faces them all; nevertheless several other factors appear to be involved. The gentry origin of Kitazato kept it aloof from its immediate neighbors for many years, and apparently no real contacts were established in neighboring villages until after the annexation. Even today the people of this village speak a dialect markedly distinct from that of their nearest neighbors; thus, the upper-class origin and the physical and linguistic isolation of the village has perhaps contributed much to its integration and solidarity. The relative weakness of kin groupings seems to be another factor. In Kanegusuku one gets the impression that the strength of the lineages mitigates against informal village-wide cooperation and only through formal organizations such as the youth association is any real village-wide cooperation realized. In Kitazato the weak kin groupings seem no obstacle to this.

621
186

[197]

It seemed to the author that the people of Kitazato never tired of reiterating how well they cooperated together and how much they enjoyed working together as a village. "We want to stay together as a village, as we cooperate so well together." This is typical of the statements which were made. Many say that they would not object to emigration provided they might emigrate as a village.

Land Rentals Two serious problems face the people of Kitazato in regard to renting the land of neighboring villages. They are unable to pay

621
427